NATIONAL
GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

15 cents

VOL. 10, NO. 14 NEW YORK, JANUARY 20, 1958

THERE WERE TEN YEARS OF DYING AFTER HIROSHIMA

Teiko Sasaki was two when the Bomb was dropped. In 1955 she died at the age of 12, a victim of radiation absorbed 10 years before. Last year Sculptor Kazuo Kikuchi (c.) molded her little figure holding an abstract symbol of peace. Teiko's brother Masachiro (l.) looks on. As all the world cries "No more Hiroshima!" we offer Teiko as a symbol of our time.

STATE OF THE UNION—AND THE WORLD

It's the sane world vs. a Dulles-Johnson holy war for space

By Kumar Goshal

IN HIS STATE OF THE UNION message last week President Eisenhower served up the substance of the "peace through strength" Rockefeller-Gaither reports, garnished with platitudes and with a gravy bowl on the side.

At home it was overshadowed by Senate majority leader Lyndon B. Johnson's precedent-breaking opposition state-of-the-union report to the Senate Democrats, delivered 48 hours earlier. Abroad, it was eclipsed by the simultaneous release of Soviet Premier Bulganin's new appeal to NATO and Warsaw Pact members and, especially, to Mr. Eisenhower.

EIGHT POINTS: The President began by announcing he would devote his message "entirely" to the twin tasks of "our safety through strength" and "building a genuine peace." In an eight-point "outline of action," which was seven-eighths military and one-eighth bromide, he called for:

1. Defense reorganization to eliminate harmful inter-service rivalries.

2. More foreign bases and stand-by crews for the U.S. Strategic Air Command to "increase their readiness for instant reaction," and an accelerated missile program.

3. Increased "military aid" to U.S. allies.

4. Extension of the trade agreements act to help "supply our ever-increasing demand for raw materials" and to strengthen "free nations of the world."

5. "Exchange of scientific and technical information with friendly countries."

6. "An investment of about a billion dollars over a four-year period" in education and research, and "hard work" for "the student himself with his bag of books and his homework."

7. An increase of $1,300,000,000 for the present fiscal year for new weapons and "a total increase of about $4,000,000,000" in 1959 "for missiles, nuclear ships, atomic energy," etc.

8. "Works of peace" by Moscow such as cooperation in eradicating malaria, and acceptance of the U.S. package proposal for disarmament.

GOD AND GUNS: Eisenhower ended with the hope that Congress and the American

(Continued on Page 8)

PETITION TO UN

9,000 scientists ask end of bomb tests

JUST AS THE GUARDIAN was going to press, Nobel Prize laureate Dr. Linus Pauling delivered to US Secy. Gen. Dag Hammarskjold a petition signed by 9,000 scientists from 43 countries urging immediate action to stop tests of nuclear bombs by international agreement. Among the signers were 2,705 from the U.S., including 101 members of the Natl. Academy of Sciences. The GUARDIAN will carry full details next week.

STATE OF THE UNION AT HOME

Ike's message dooms social welfare spending

By Lawrence Emery

AT THE TURN of the year the world was at peace, but in Washington as the second session of the 85th Congress convened on Jan. 7 the mood was one of wartime.

The President's annual State of the Union message betrayed its title. Presidential press secretary James C. Hagerty said in advance that it would be "different from anything we've ever given"—and it was. It had little or nothing to do with the state of the Union; instead, it was a call to arms in the name of a need "to wage total peace."

Whatever slim hopes there had been of progressive legislation from this Congress were buried under the panic of the war-minded men of government. Even such normally sane and sober journals as the N.Y. *Times* were infected with the panic; it reported in its news columns that in this Congress "the accent will be on military and scientific security; social welfare legislation is likely to be all but pushed aside completely." Editorially the paper called for "discipline, sacrifice and hard work" and demanded new arms "irrespective of cost."

A NEGATIVE SESSION: The President himself said of his demand for increased spending on super-weapons of destruction: "It means reducing expenditures on less essential military programs and installations, postponing some new civilian programs, transferring some to the states, and curtailing or eliminating others."

The President said that items of domestic concern traditionally contained in the State of the Union message would be covered later in separate messages to Congress. But it was certain that this year there would be no tax

(Continued on Page 4)

A CAMPAIGN FOR ALL GUARDIAN READERS

10,000 new readers in 1958!

THIS IS THE GUARDIAN's Tenth Year. As quickly as possible during this year we aim to add at least 10,000 readers. We need your help to do this.

Let us demonstrate how little effort it will take for you to put this campaign over the top:

Have you a pen or pencil handy? Will you write on the margin of this column the initials of just one person you know who used to take the GUARDIAN, or who would try it for 13 weeks if you suggested it?

If you have thought of just one such individual—neighbor, office or shop acquaintance, schoolmate, teacher, student, sister, brother, father, mother, aunt or uncle, fellow commuter, chess opponent, sports companion, vacation friend or colleague in any activity—the GUARDIAN can receive a giant boost in readership with [illegible] **this very week.**

There are over 33,000 individual GUARDIAN readers—not counting others who read your copy of the paper. As you can surely think of just one additional person to get a $1, 13-week trial sub, just as surely can all the rest of the 33,000 —and presto! the GUARDIAN will have to hire extra help immediately to record the landslide of new subscriptions. As the old Chinese proverb puts it: "A thousand mile journey begins with one step." We ask you to take this one step—now.

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 197 E. 4th St., New York 9.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U. S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $5 a year. First class and air mail on request. United Kingdom 35s a year payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 16 Talbot Sq., London W2, England; otherwise $6 a year overseas. GUARDIAN Paris Bureau, 103, avenue de Gravelle, St. Maurice (Seine), France. Single copies 15c. Re-entered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE, *Editor-in-Exile* — JOHN T. McMANUS, *General Manager* — JAMES ARONSON, *Editor*

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How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

TORONTO, Ontario, AP—The best defense against the intercontinental ballistic missile, says retired Air Vice-Marshal J.L. Plant, would be a curtain of sand across the sky.

"The missile will burn itself out by friction as it flies through the sand," he told a news conference. "The problem is getting the sand into the sky."

—Chicago **Daily News**, 1/5

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: E. and R. Durham, Chicago, Ill.

THE MAIL BAG

Taxpayers' money

HAMMONTON, N. J.

The enclosed $13.66 was paid to me for an involuntary appearance before the Senate Internal Security Committee in Philadelphia. Mr. Robert Morris, counsel of the committee, has announced his candidacy for nomination to the U.S. Senate on the Republican Party ticket in N.J. in 1958. My check and the checks paid to others who were subpenaed add up to a contribution by the U.S. taxpayers to this campaign. I am sorry to report that the taxpayers were cheated, as Mr. Morris was disappointed. Since one of my own favorite campaigns is to contribute to the maintenance of the GUARDIAN, I can think of no better use for it than to send it to you. I can think of many taxpayers who would approve such use of their money.

C. W. Fowler

Curtains of gold

MELROSE, MASS.

As Sputniks rise from other lands, this figure of speech from an obituary in the Dartmouth **Alumni Magazine** for December, 1957, perhaps expresses even more than the highest sentiments its writer could attain:

"As once again that Golden Curtain is drawn aside to receive one of our longtime friends and companions . . ." etc.

Thus is the "curtain philosophy" and the great god Gold injected even into the sorrow of death. What finer concept for those so trained than to die and go behind a Golden Curtain to count and eat money forever. Marx and Engels suggested the best ultimate use for gold would be to make urinals.

Frank Collier

Sputnik vs. supernatural

PASADENA, CALIF.

Secondary consideration with the Soviets in the Sputnik launchings may have been the repercussions they were bound to effect in the still supernaturally-sanctioned Moslem and Buddhist worlds—all to the advantage of the position of historical materialism.

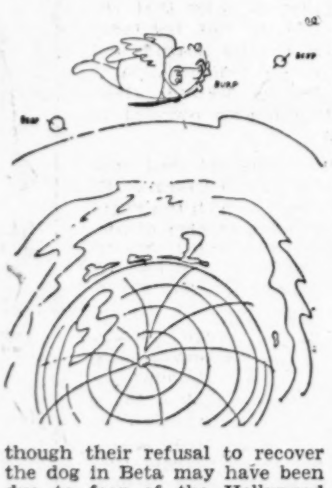
Even here in this country it is still common for parochial schools to distribute colored cardboard tableaux of "heaven," as the place straight up above us in the sky, with a white-robed deity on a golden throne, trailed by a lady in a blue peignoir, apparently skating over a sea of glass, etc. All, except the human-oriented Chinese ("beyond the Yellow Springs" being their most specific guess as to the hereafter), have envisaged either houris, Buddhist incarnations by the thousands or the Christian trinity, etc., as being in the sky—since, to primitive man, nowhere seemed better to go than up, I suppose, and it looked blue and inviting. Each revolution of Sputnik refutes these childish concepts and brings us close to applying man's energies to the improvement of this planet.

Lenore K. Hartigan

Fosterguard

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Both the U. S. and Soviet space programs have the problem of re-entry, of bringing satellites down to earth. Russian scientists have failed twice, although their refusal to recover the dog in Beta may have been due to fear of the Hollywood Tail-Waggers Club. In the meantime, the first U. S. satellite, Fosterguard, has been circling beyond earthly influence since the Hague Convention of 1907. U.S. pride, hurt by hasty headlines and Pentagonies, refuses to predict when Fosterguard will be brought back through friction, heat and turbulence to **Life's** Earth. But for two decades Fosterguard has sent **Life** secrets from the world beyond and may plunge through the Natosphere intact in time for **Life's** next deadline.



Adam Zoffox

Thanks from Jim Dolsen

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

All my thanks to the many readers of the GUARDIAN who contributed to my defense in the Pennsylvania sedition trial and the Pittsburgh Smith Act prosecution and the lengthy appeals that finally ended in the setting aside of the convictions.

The combined total of 25 years imprisonment to which I was sentenced under this thought-control persecution would have kept me in jail until close to a hundred years of age!

I am still in debt for my share of the expenses incurred in the legal defense of the Smith Act case. This is a moral obligation which, unfortunately, I have no personal resources to cover. I am consequently asking readers of this paper who are in a position to help me liquidate this obligation and who would like to participate in a New Year's resolve to clear the decks, to do so by sending a donation for this purpose.

Contributions will be gratefully acknowledged and should be sent to my address, listed below.

James Dolsen
2018 N. 32 St.

Arms across the sea

BOSTON, MASS.

It is not quite correct to imply, as you do in your Dec. 23 issue on the Gallup Poll, that the USSR favors free interchange of tourists, ideas and opinions. I would like to believe that as much as you would! If you will read the text of Khrushchev's radio interview broadcast in the U.S. in which he dealt with this, you will see he limited such interchange to views that do not advocate war. Also in official Soviet replies to the American proposals on this, the verbatim texts reveal that the USSR reserves always the right to prevent the Soviet people from hearing any "war-making" American propaganda. In short, the government of the USSR advocates limited and censored interchange of opinions, as it does not trust nor have faith in the Soviet people. The American government advocates very limited trial or test exchanges on complete freedom. To me, the American government's attitude is far in advance of the Soviet government's attitude.

(Rev.) Hugh Warren Weston

Tongue in cheek

DURHAM, N.C.

Whenever the Church praises liberty, or any other creature which is contrary to her interests, she does so with her tongue in her cheek, as witness the quote in your article that she favored freedom of the press, but only "within the laws of right reason"—by which she means regulation by the Church.

It follows that the only right that anyone has is to follow the Church's teachings. The Church generously grants this liberty to all!

I. Riggs

Prayer

BRISBANE, CALIF.

Now I lay me down to sleep,
Sky rackets make my rest less deep;
If a jet hits this house before I wake,
I hope I die before I wake.

L. H. H.

REPORT TO READERS

10,000 new readers

(Continued from Page 1)

HERE'S WHY we believe the time is ripe for a full-scale rebuilding job by every GUARDIAN reader and friend. The GUARDIAN stands virtually alone today on the national scene as a publication devoted to peace, human rights, and the aspirations of progressive America. You who make up the GUARDIAN readership are the bedrock of progressive America. Your voices have never been stilled in a decade of repression and steps toward war.

Today more people agree with you, in whole or in part, than at any other time in the Cold War period. Men and women who withdrew from the campaigns for peace and freedom under the drastic pressures of McCarthyism and the drive for conformity may now find the company of millions where once mere handfuls opposed repression and war.

The urgency of peace and the removal of the threat of wars of annihilation are the paramount concerns of all thinking people of our nation, as of all nations. The demand for negotiation of world differences grows in volume by the hour. Yet there is no organized expression of this yearning for peace and safety anywhere in American public life today.

We believe the time is at hand for a remobilization of progressive America. We believe the rifts can and must be healed which have stayed progressive America from speaking with one voice.

WE ARE UNDER NO ILLUSION that the simple act of your adding one reader to the GUARDIAN's list—or even an overnight doubling of our readership, which is a real possibility if everyone pitches in—will immediately create a new political force in our country.

What that simple act will do, immediately, is to widen the area of awareness that there is an alternative to a sky-high $30 billion missile race in the next four years, piled on top of the biggest peace time budgeting in world history. To an appalling degree, the media of communication in our country today acknowledges no such alternative. What we can do, further, is to bring together again people who have fallen away from one another in recent years; and to begin to show ways of mending many of the differences which have rendered the good people of our country divided and inactive.

WE FEEL CONFIDENT that every GUARDIAN reader can contribute at least one added reader in this widening process. Some can do more..

For those who can ring the bell three times we have what we think is the prize of prizes.

We have obtained for this exclusive purpose the remaining supply of the popular edition of **I Vote My Conscience**, the late Vito Marcantonio's speeches and writings in his incomparable 14 years in Congress. Your copy awaits you—for sending us three $1 new trial subscriptions. If you can't send three all at once, send the first one you can right away, then keep tabs for yourself. When you send us No. 3, remind us to send you your copy of the great "Marc" book. You'll find it a rich reward indeed—494 pages with 66 superb photos—a glowing memorial of a legislator whose whole political life was dedicated to the people's cause of peace and human freedoms.

For this week, we stress this one fast action: refer back to P. 1 (where you jotted down those initials, remember?) and sign up that added reader in the blank right opposite here, on P. 3.

If you will respond now, we think we will have the figures in short order to prove that an immediate goal of 10,000 added readers is not only a realistic one, but an accomplished one!

Then we'll start on the second 10,000. —**THE GUARDIAN**

EX-EDITOR JOHN GATES IN AN EARLIER TROUBLED TIME
Government padlocks couldn't stop the paper two years ago . . .

INTERNAL TROUBLES BLAMED

Daily Worker folds after 34 years —editor quits paper and party

EXACTLY 34 YEARS to the day after its first issue, the final number of the **Daily Worker** appeared on Jan. 13. The paper, which since 1924 has been a vehicle for Communist Party policy and program, had survived the incessant attacks of its enemies, including government seizure of its assets in 1956. But it could not overcome in 1957 a 30% circulation drop which occurred in the midst of a rapidly sharpening factional struggle within the party.

The intra-mural political battle was highlighted last week by John Gates' resignation from the party and as editor of the **Daily Worker** and the weekly **Worker.** Gates told a press conference that the party had become "a futile and impotent political sect" and that the daily paper "is not dying a natural death. It is being murdered." He accused "a small group of willful and reckless comrades in the leadership" of destroying the paper.

GREAT REGRET: Charles J. Hendley, secretary-treasurer of Publishers New Press, Inc., owners of the paper, announced "with great regret" that "we find it impossible to keep up the publication of a daily paper by means of the contributions which the supporters of our press are now giving."

The **Daily Worker** staff issued a statement on Jan. 9 pointing out that during the past ten years the paper has faced "a continuing drop in circulation . . . and a continuous illegal harassment of readers, advertisers and newsstand dealers by various government and non-government agencies."

TROUBLE IN THE PARTY: The paper's 1957 deficit was $250,000. The decision to discontinue publication came after it was learned that the CP could not be counted on to help raise the large sums needed to meet the deficit. The CP itself faces an unsatisfactory situation, the staff statement said, because of "lower party membership, diminished resources and unresolved political differences."

The Worker, which has been issued as the week-end edition of the **Daily Worker,** will continue as a weekly paper. Hendley announced plans to expand **The Worker** and increase its circulation. "Saving and expanding **The Worker,**" he said, "is the surest way toward reviving the **Daily Worker.**"

BACKWARD LOOK: The final issue of the **Daily Worker** featured a bouncy front page headline: "We'll Be Back! Fighting for Peace, Democracy and Socialism." The paper's editorial commitment over the years was reflected in a panel of front pages carrying the following main headlines: Jan. 13, 1924—"Bankers Seek to Prop Tottering Germany"; Aug. 23, 1927—"Sacco and Vanzetti MURDERED!"; Mar. 1, 1930—"Workers, Jobless! All Demonstrate on March 6!"; July 26, 1937—"Four Are Free! Scottsboro Boys Here Today"; Sept. 30, 1938—"Chamberlain in Monstrous Betrayal Orders Seizure of Czechoslovakia"; Jan. 9, 1939—"150,000 Give Hero's Acclaim to Mooney in Historic Rally"; Dec. 8, 1941—"Japan Opens War on U.S.—Communists Pledge Government Their All in Country's Defense."

WHAT NEXT? Gates' resignation drew the immediate fire of the party's national administrative committee, and the equally speedy applause of the commercial press. The committee declared: "His Klieg-lighted resignation comes as something of an anti-climax to Communists, who have had a series of abortive resignations from Gates." It contended that "for some time Gates has been politically disoriented and has been challenging many of the basic principles of scientific socialism, Marxism."

What exact course Gates' future activities would take remained in doubt. He told reporters he intended to "rejoin the American people." The N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (1/11) summoned up enough editorial dexterity to interpret Gates' resignation as meaning "that Bulganin and the other Kremlin hacks who call the tune for the world's Communist parties are not genuinely seeking peace." It welcomed Gates, "belatedly though it may be, to the company of civilized men."

The ex-editor's first public appearances were scheduled to take place on the Mike Wallace Interview (WABC-TV, 10 p.m., E.S.T., Jan. 18), and in a series of articles beginning Jan. 20 in the N.Y. **Post.**

JENCKS DECISION APPLIED

Court overturns ruling that CP register as 'subversive'

By Louis E. Burnham

THE GOVERNMENT'S seven-year attempt to force the Communist Party to register as a "Communist-action" organization dominated by the Soviet Union met a legal roadblock on Jan. 9. The U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington ruled that the Subversive Activities Control Board erred in refusing to require the FBI to produce secret records demanded by CP attorneys in cross examination of witnesses. On this basis, a board finding that the party must register was overturned.

The unanimous ruling of the court, delivered by Judge E. Barrett Prettyman, was based on the recent Supreme Court decision in the case of union leader Clinton E. Jencks. In that case the Court affirmed the principle that the government must produce relevant secret reports in criminal trials. The Appeals Court opinion extended this ruling to administrative proceedings and based itself on "the elementary proposition that the interest of the United States is that justice be done." The Court stated: "The question here is whether production [of Government records] is one of the fundamentals of fair play required in an administrative proceeding. We think it is."

THE INFORMER: The Court's decision related specifically to testimony of government informer Mary Stalcup Markward. The CP sought to impeach the Markward testimony by showing she had contradicted herself on at least three occasions in her career as a professional FBI witness: (1) in testimony before the SACB concerning a statement attributed to Phil Frankfeld, former Baltimore CP chairman; (2) in alleging that she had received only "expenses" from the FBI when government records showed payments to her of $24,026.45; (3) in her testimony before a Defense Department security hearing "identifying" Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, a government worker, as a communist.

The SACB refused to order that the Markward reports to the FBI, her testimony in the Moss security hearing and the FBI records on her compensation be made available to the defense. These rulings of the Board were reversed in last week's decision.

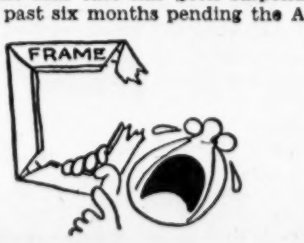
While the ruling does not deal with the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act of 1950 under which the Board functions, it will affect a number of proceedings now before the Board. Several organizations are fighting against registration orders, either before the Board or in the courts. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is currently involved in proceedings at the Board level. The National Council for American-Soviet Friendship has taken its case to the Court of Appeals. The SACB has refused to drop action against some organizations even though they have been dissolved since proceedings were initiated.

UNION CASES: Also before the Board are hearings involving the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America and the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union. Both unions were charged with being "communist-infiltrated" organizations and hailed before the SACB under the terms of the Communist Control Act of 1954 (Butler Act). The Mine-Mill case has been suspended for the past six months pending the Appeals Court decision. Union attorney Nathan Witt made a demand for disclosure of secret government records but the Board held off a ruling pending the Court's disposition of the CP case. Unions found "guilty" under the Butler Act are denied access to the services of the National Labor Relations Board.

The Court ruled unfavorably on another aspect of the CP appeal. John Abt and Joseph Forer, attorneys for the Party, asked the court to throw out the case on the grounds that it could not be shown that the CP is substantially under the domination, influence and control of a foreign power. To prove this, they argued, the Government would have to show that the Soviet Union wields "enforceable authority" in the affairs of the U.S. party. The Court denied this contention with the following reasoning: "An organization or a person may be substantially under the direction or domination of another person or organization by voluntary compliance as well as through compulsion . . . If the Soviet Union directs a line of policy and an organization voluntarily follows the direction, the terms of this statutory definition would be met."

BOARD'S MOVE: The next move in the fight against thought control and organizational regimentation is up to the SACB. It must now produce the records demanded or strike the Markward testimony from the record. (In 1956 a Supreme Court ruling forced the Board to strike testimony of FBI informers Paul Crouch, Manning Johnson and Harvey Matusow as tainted.)

If the records are produced it will require more cross-examination. In any case, the Board will be required to make a new finding regarding the CP based on the record as amended. CP counsel Abt said that any further adverse rulings by the Board will be appealed again to the court.



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ZILLIACUS CALLS DULLES WORLD'S GREATEST MENACE

The heat is on in Britain for peace

By K. Zilliacus
Labour Member of Parliament

LONDON

FOR THE FIRST TIME since the thirties, the Parliamentary Labour Party has clashed with the Tory Government over the whole field of foreign affairs, and carried its dissent to a vote. It happened on Dec. 20, the day before the House rose for the Christmas and New Year holidays (we meet again on Jan. 21), and marks, if not a turning point, at least a milepost in Labour's political evolution.

The debate was held against the background of a Gallup poll that shook even the NATO Conference in Paris. For it showed that 85% of all voters wanted the Western leaders to meet the Soviet leaders for top-level talks; only 4% were against, with 11% undecided. The breakdown of these figures was even more surprising: 91% of Conservative voters for talks, 6% against, 3% undecided; Liberals, 90% for, 2% against, 8% undecided; Labour 84% for, 4% against, 12% undecided.

If there were a vote in this country on which was the greater menace to peace—Khrushchev or Dulles—John Foster would undoubtedly win hands down. For Mr. Dulles is as universally distrusted and detested in Britain as he is in the U.S.—or in Europe or Asia, for that matter.

Moreover, the idea is getting around that Ike ain't what he used to be—as seen from Europe he seems to have become a national mascot of the Republican Party, an advertisement for the new business or public relations management, a triumph of medical science, and, for all we over here can tell, a miracle of the taxidermist's cult; but in no effective sense the Chief Executive of the United States.

Bastian in San Francisco Chronicle
"Here we go again!"

"MAC, THE KNIFE": What with that and the deadlock between the Administration and Congress the U.S. system of government looks paralyzed and the United States like a huge and deadly mine bobbing about in the traffic lanes of civilization, threatening to blow us all to glory—with Mr. Dulles on board trying to bump any ships painted red below the waterline.

But if there is general agreement in England that Mr. Dulles is an international menace, the opinion is equally widely and firmly held that our own Foreign Secretary, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, is a national disaster. He balked in the debate like a pint-sized Genghis Khan in a bowler hat, combining the morals and mentality of Hitler with the methods of a shyster lawyer. Aneurin Bevan really tore into him in the debate—and got an ovation.

Prime Minister Macmillan made such a poor showing at the end of the debate that even the Tories in the lobbies afterwards were talking about the need to replace him. "Mac the Knife," as he is familiarly but not affectionately known, is coming out more as a nasty blend of frivolity and fanaticism, combining crawling subservience to the U.S. of Dulles and the Pentagon with suicidal truculence toward the U.S.S.R. and delusions of nuclear grandeur.

THE OBSESSION: The Dec. 20 debate was the opening stage in what is going to be a tough Labour fight for a civilized, rational foreign policy against the mad and dangerous defenders of the old order.

Bevan pointed out that the Government had rejected every single proposal made by the opposition to find a basis of agreement with the Soviet Union, that it clung to cold war aims it must know made any peace impossible, and merely mouthed parrot-like again and again, a

Liberation, Paris
"Great Britain is very much bound to the Anglo-American alliance."

"liturgy of hate, injecting into the international situation no element of buoyancy or optimism at all, having no advice to give to the nation except to pile one more tier of ridiculous armaments on the useless pile already created."

The Government, he said, seemed to share Washington's attitude of complete hopelessness, the feeling that it was not even worth trying to come to terms with the Russians, that he had found in official circles in the United States. "I found it everywhere there [in the U.S.]. In fact, I did not find inspiration as much as obsession. They were just obsessed by the whole Communist idea. When, on top of that, there came the Sputniks, there was a state of mind in the United States which, I am bound to say, frankly frightened me."

ANTI-NATO: Lord Hinchingbrooke who, speaking for the extreme rightwing Conservatives who rebelled and renounced the Tory Party whips because the Government withdrew from Suez, went even further than Bevan and was loudly cheered from the Labour benches.

Starting with the idea that Britain must remain a sovereign Great Power, he objected to our subordination to the U.S. in NATO. He wanted Britain to take an independent line and promote a European settlement on the basis of mutual disengagement and of British willingness to negotiate with the Soviet Union as well as the U.S. U.S. missile bases in Britain, he said, were going to put us into danger in order to afford one-sided protection to the U.S.

The Left of the Labour Party which, of course, opposes U.S. missile bases here, is now going to start attacking NATO. We say that NATO is militarism run mad and an instrument for Mr. Dulles' strategy of massive retaliation, his tactical brinkmanship and his policy of anti-communist intervention. The price of British membership in NATO is total subservience to Mr. Dulles, Britain becoming a bloodbank for his brinkmanship and a burnt-offering when he falls over the brink.

LEFT PROGRAM: We agree with Bevan that the Soviet Union does not want war and that communism is a social and ideological challenge, not a military threat. But we draw the conclusion that this country should therefore stop making H-bombs, prohibit the launching or flying of nuclear weapons from British territory, put forward our own proposals for peace, negotiate on them with the Russians even if the U.S. refuses to come in. If we reach agreement and the U.S. remains obdurate, we should order U.S. forces out of this country, take our own forces out of Germany, and reduce NATO, SEATO and the Baghdad Pact to a dead letter by refusing to act on their military obligations without the authorization of the Security Council.

We believe the American people would back us, and would take care of Mr. Dulles and any others who might try to act like Chicago gangsters selling us protection whether we wanted it or not. And we believe that by acting with courage and decision on these lines we can make peace and save the world.

Message dooms

(Continued from Page 1)

cut (and possibly an increase); no school building program; no aid to family-sized farms; no help for small business; little or no new housing; no new civil rights protection; no river development or public power advances. For labor it was almost certain that repressive laws would be passed.

On the opening day of Congress more than 100 new bills were dropped into the House hopper but their main focus was on speeding military science and military strength. Rep. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.) summed up the new approach with a bill to establish a Joint Committee on Outer Space.

THE CANDIDATE: But the wartime mood of urgent crisis lacked the wartime essential of unity of purpose. This is an election year and politicians were using their self-generated panic for political ends. The day before Congress opened, the Republicans fired a broadside at the Democrats with a 15-page mimeographed memorandum distributed to Congressmen blaming the Truman Administration for the lag in missiles and space projects.

The Democrats were equal to the occasion. Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas at a Congressional Democratic caucus delivered his own State of the Union message two days before the President's and presented himself as even more war-like than the Republicans. He likened the present situation to Pearl Harbor and admonished both Democrats and Republicans to behave as in wartime by burying partisanship and being "just plain Americans." Then he nominated himself as a candidate for the presidency with an eloquent and widely-publicized speech which out-bucked Buck Rogers for adventure into space.

TOMORROW THE WORLD: He began grimly: "Let us begin with this fact: the ground beneath us when we last met has been, largely, swept away. How much is gone, how much remains are questions no man can answer with authority." Then he staked out both outer space and all of Earth as American possessions. He said:

"If, out in space, there is the ultimate position—from which total control of the earth may be exercised—then our national goal and the goal of all free men must be to win and hold that position."

Jensen in Chicago Daily News
With all that smoke

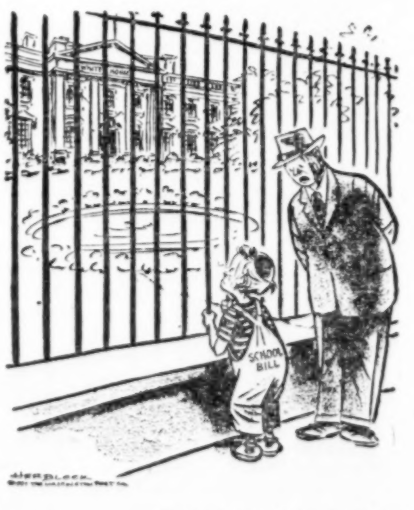
It sounded like a Texas football coach pep-talking his team, but Lyndon Johnson was deadly serious: "The testimony of the scientists is this: control of space means control of the world, far more certainly, far more totally than any control that has ever or could be achieved by weapons, or by troops of occupation. From space, the masters of infinity would have the power to control the earth's weather, to cause drought and flood, to change the tides and raise the levels of the sea, to divert the Gulf stream and change temperate climates to frigid. The meaning is, to my limited view, quite clear."

To many, the meaning seemed equally clear: Lyndon Johnson, a Democrat, was tougher than Republican Eisenhower and aspired to be a Master of Infinity.

FEW SANE VOICES: With the Democrats and Republicans out-spacing themselves, it may be of little importance that the Congress is divided in the Senate between 50 Democrats and 46 Republicans, and in the House between 231 Democrats and 199 Republicans with five vacancies.

There were few sane voices speaking up against the Washington fantasies. Robert Nathan, national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, said mildly of the President that his organization "deplores the fact that the State of the Union speech opened no new avenues for disarmament nor for negotiations for peace."

The Washington Post, while endorsing the arms race, found some fault with Lyndon Johnson's space travels: "Surely the lesson of the struggle for mastery of space is that now, if ever in human history, is the moment for cooperation and interdependence. Cooperation even with a system which is the enemy of American institutions, in that necessarily larger bond which is the preservation of civilization. How much better it would have been if Sen. Johnson, while urging all steps to stay abreast of the Russians, had proposed cooperative experiments, a sharing of information and perhaps even a joint venture into space! Is not the fundamental requirement the fixing of international rules and limitations rather than a negative rivalry?"



Herblock in Washington Post
"Too bad you ain't a power company, kid."

The answer last week seemed obvious.

COAST-TO-COAST: IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICA

'There is a longing for peace in our land'

By Willard E. Uphaus

MRS. UPHAUS AND I have just returned from a transcontinental auto trip which reminded us again of the magnitude of our land and the potential greatness of its people. We traveled 8,000 miles and touched and crossed 17 states. We broke bread with teachers, ministers, doctors, labor representatives, authors, social workers and their families. We sensed everywhere the deep hunger of the people for peace, but at the same time a kind of hesitation and frustration that dampened bold action for peace.

Ours is a vast and varied land. We recall old farm homesteads nestling in the hills of Pennsylvania, the seemingly endless expanse of level corn-producing soil in Illinois, and sparsely settled West Kansas with its enormous fields of green fall-sown wheat. These areas reminded us of one of the contradictions of our present economic order. While huge surpluses of food age in ships and granaries, and while farmers draw hundreds of millions of dollars for not producing, tens of millions of our brothers in other lands face hunger and starvation.

SAN FRANCISCO, and the Bay area, is truly one of of the most beautiful places in America. But as we were crossing the Golden Gate Bridge, after having seen the giant redwoods that thrust themselves triumphantly into the blue, Alcatraz came into view and my heart sank. We were enjoying the great outdoors, while Morton Sobell languished in that worst of all prisons. I uttered a quiet prayer for him, and for myself that I would never cease to do my part to see him free. My four-year battle with the "little McCarthy" in New Hampshire had, after all, been mild in comparison.

When, homeward bound, we crossed Arizona we saw how the desert, with irrigation, blossoms like a rose. On one side of the highway the land might be desolate, and on the other it might abound with alfalfa or fruits and nuts. If man could only master his own spirit and bring it into harmony with an earth that was created for all, what a paradise this world might be.

"OURS IS A VAST AND VARIED LAND"
Old farmsteads . . . endless expanse of fields

OUR TRIP WAS TAKEN mainly to rest, visit, look, listen, meditate—to adjust the eye and our spirits to the longer view, and not to make an expert social analysis. Yet I hazard some thoughts that beset me almost every mile of the way. They are not new.

As vast as is our natural domain, its resources are not inexhaustible, and it is high time to stop those who plunder our wealth and begin to plan for the conservation and development of our land, water and mineral resources—for ourselves and future generations. The ancient prophets of Israel knew what we forget: "The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof."

We are among the most brain-washed people on earth. We had been aware of the propaganda being dinned into our ears, never before were we so as when we heard radio and TV programs in home and public places. How completely canned and standardized is the cheap pabulum on which the public mind is being fed! The Rev. Edwin T. Dahlberg, president of the Natl. Council of Churches, in a New Year's message, scored present-day religion for failing to meet the demands of justice, mercy and truth, and then went on to say that "we have occupied ourselves too much with the mint, anacin and bufferin of the law." Now, fortunately, since the ascent of the sputniks, educators, clergymen and scientists are agitated over the moral stultification and intellectual flabbiness that have overtaken us.

The economy is not healthy. Fear of losing the job is very real. The managers of the status quo can easily talk about unemployment in terms of charts and percentages, and in the same breath hand out assurances that all will be well. Not until you feel the painful agitation in the breast of the individual flesh-and-blood worker can you sum up the total plight of the people. This we felt as we visited a worker in a Texas city, who has just purchased a modest home and has a wife and three children to support. Sharp cutbacks have hit a huge plane factory in which he works, and many have been laid off. His weekly take-home has shrunk. When will he be told he is no longer wanted?

THERE IS A LONGING for peace; there is considerable work going on for peace, but there is no people's movement for peace. All along we acknowledged what various peace groups are doing, but there are still unfortunate gulfs that separate us, caused by fear, distrust, sectarianism, and denominationalism; the nursing of old wounds and sheer busy-ness with lesser things. The people do not yet fully realize that the bomb, when it falls, will not stop to ask whether we are black or white, Communists or Methodists.

I reminisced with group after group about the Mid-Century Conference in 1950 and the Chicago Peace Congress in 1951. Is it time to make another bold move of the people? The answer was: "Not yet." Our problem is partly that of distance and separation. I wished for some magic by which I could bring progressives out of isolation and see their spirits rekindled by a sense of togetherness in a common effort.

A STATE DIVIDED—NORTH AND SOUTH

The California water war: Farmers vs. industrialists

By Reuben W. Borough
First of two articles

LOS ANGELES

CALIFORNIA is in the grip of another water war. This time the conflict is between the rival economies of the great Central Valley agricultural area north of the Tehachapi Mountains and the Southern California industrial empire south of them.

The particular incident that provoked the current struggle—the proposal for the Feather River Project—will probably soon be a matter of the past. Southern Californians themselves are in the process of rejecting a blue-print drawn in the interest of the power trust, the land speculators and allied financiers, that calls for exporting water from the North to the South by lifting it 3,450 feet over mountain tops and dropping it on the other side. The costs are prohibitive.

But settling the specific Feather River issue will by no means dispose of the basic questions dividing the state: "Even if a feasible route is found, should Feather River water or any other water in Northern California be exported to Southern California or should it be kept at home? In either case, for whose benefit should it be used?"

DISTRIBUTION: California is uniquely rich in water resources, but most of the water is not where it is most needed. The problem is how best to tap the run-off from the high mountain areas in the North and divert it to the drier areas.

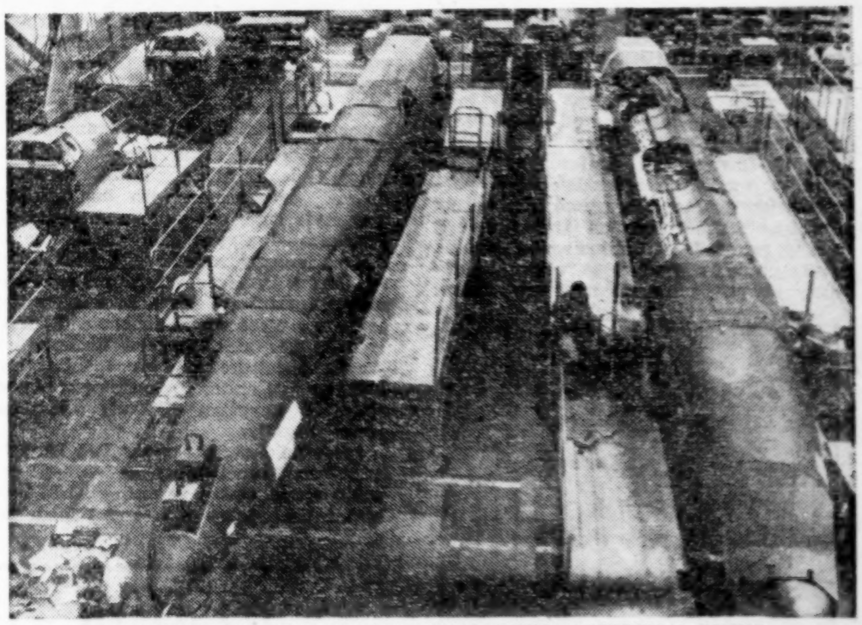
From the viewpoint of the real estate interests and the business and agricultural expansionists of the respective sections, water is unquestionably needed in both Southern California and the Central Valley.

The Southern California Research Council, serving the business and financial interests of the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area (Los Angeles and Orange Counties), estimates that the area will reach 8,000,000 in population by 1970, an increase of 2,500,000 in 15 years, and that the total water requirement at that time will be 2,000,000 acre-feet annually.

"The underground water supplies," it notes, "are currently being over-drawn. To eliminate this over-draft and to meet the increased demands for water, Southern California will be using most of its Colorado River allotment (1,212,000 acre-feet annually) by 1970. It is imperative that new sources be developed in the near future."

GROWING NEEDS: With this conclusion the board of directors of the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, which supplies 66 cities and towns as well as unincorporated areas in five Southern California counties, agrees. The district's present water sources, when fully developed, the board estimates, will be sufficient to serve its population of up to 10,000,000 20 years hence—but not more. "Meantime some other major source of supply . . . should be developed."

As to the Central Valley, the need is even more drastically stated. The California State Water Resources Board estimated in 1955 that the valley's population of 1,830,000 would be increased to an "ultimate" of 6,750,000 and that the present water need of 13,190,000 acre-feet would rise to an "ultimate" of 24,030,000 acre-feet, of which 22,820,000 would be required for agriculture. According to competent authority, the water "deficit" in the service area of the Central Valley rose from 1,000,000 acre-feet in 1938 to 2,500,000 acre-feet in 1955. At the same rate of increase this "deficit" would mount to more than 40,000,000 acre-feet by 1972. The 1955 "deficit" of 2,500,000 acre-feet, it should be observed, would more than absorb the 1,800,000 acre-feet which the proposed Feather River Project would produce for export to Southern California.



INFILTRATING SO. CALIFORNIA'S AUTO ASSEMBLY LINES
Production line for the Snark guided missile at Hawthorne

What are the uses to which this precious commodity would be put, north or south of the Tehachapis?

FACTORY OR FARM? Southern California's business and financial oracles are emphatically on record about their intentions: they will use the water to intensify industrialization. In the process one-third of the state's annual farm output will be cancelled. Truck gardens, bean and alfalfa acreage and the still remaining walnut and citrus groves will be uprooted by the tractor to make way for monotonous subdivisions and their flimsy cracker-box tenements palmed off on wage earners as homes. From Los Angeles to San Diego there will be growing congestion everywhere, even along the coast, where closely packed beach residences will increasingly bar the way to the shore.

The spread of aircraft, plastics, chemicals, electronics, nuclear reactor, and gasoline-cracking plants, steel mills and auto assembly centers will be infiltrated by the production of inter-continental ballistic missiles and other war materials (in volume today, one-tenth of the nation's total).

Traffic will worsen. Night and day, mile-long processions of ancient jalopies and shiny new models will clog the freeways in funereal crawl. There will be no relief for strap-hangers from bus and streetcar jams. The poisonous smog will deepen everywhere. A 10,000-square-mile megalopolis will pollute the near-by sea with sewage. When the depression comes a half million or more workers, whose pay-checks have been hypothecated to the hilt by instalment payments, will be plunged into unparalleled misery—they will not even have that sorry comfort of the depression of the 1930's, the unharvested crops of abandoned fields, to fall back upon.

Water might be put to better uses.

Next week: Water for Central Valley agriculture—what kind?

THE AFRO-ASIAN CONFERENCE IN CAIRO

The sun is setting on the pink man's world

By Cedric Belfrage

CAIRO

THE AFRO-ASIAN People's Solidarity Conference, by bringing together representatives of most of the 1,700,000,000 non-pink people who are or have been divided and ruled, has set a great landmark in history. These few trivia may give an idea what it was like to be here.

While planes flew in from all over Africa and the East jammed with delegates and reporters, the Air India plane from the West—now the only direct link with London—was almost empty on Conference eve. Indicating the extent of the Western news blackout, a nationalistic Egyptian agronomist on the plane, who was returning from some months in the U.S., didn't know the conference was being held. I showed him the London **Times'** reference to it as an "'Asian solidarity' masquerade" and he said with a sigh: "Of course, if we do anything without asking the Anglo-Saxons' permission, it has to be a communist plot."

Cairo today is a fine, modern, sprucely maintained city; its well-stocked stores and traffic-jams of up-to-date cars (which sometimes must detour when devout Moslems squatting around a mosque block the street) seem to belie any economic distress. The extreme poverty, ill-health and backwardness of Egypt's masses are soon seen in the countryside, but in Conference-week Cairo there were few signs of destitution, and almost no veiled women. Soldiers armed with bayoneted rifles or Bren guns patrolled the streets and guarded public buildings outside and in, reminding all that Egypt is still in a semi-state of war; but in the cafes Egyptians of many political hues talked with great freedom over their sweet, strong coffee.

THEY SPOKE FOR TWO-THIRDS OF THE WORLD

Egyptian President Nasser shakes hands with Mrs. Ramishware Nehru, a distant cousin of the Indian Prime Minister and head of the Indian delegation to the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conference. Delegates from Ghana, Kenya and India wait turns to greet Nasser at Cairo's Abdin Palace.

UNMINDFUL TOURISTS: The Semiramis on the Nile embankment, one of Cairo's three super-hotels, was wholly taken over for delegates and Conference headquarters. In the lobby of the Continental-Savoy, the conference "overflow" formed a bizarre kaleidoscope pattern with U.S. tourists whom they barely outnumbered. Intent on the standard tourist round, from Sphinx and Pyramids (with guide and camel) to "oriental curiosity shops" ("American Tourist Assn.

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"Got any other ideas, Foster?"

cards honored here"), few of the U.S. globetrotters ever discovered what they were in the middle of.

Crushed in the neo-Otis elevator against Somalis, Ethiops and inhabitants of the uttermost parts, the pink women conferred on whether to shop or get their hair fixed that day; and, eventually doing both, returned at the cocktail hour wearing fezzes over their perms and thinking, perhaps, that the reason people stared was that they looked cute. Englishmen and Frenchmen are rare specimens here since the Port Said affair; but one of the former turned up in the Continental lobby, identifying himself by his nude, splendidly robust knees.

STRANGE FLAGS: Of the 45 delegations, 35 could look upon their own national flag waving on the Nile bridge and along the city's palm-and eucalyptus-shaded avenues. Not one of the flags with which we are so familiar, except the Hammer & Sickle, was to be seen. Signs everywhere said "Welcome" in Arabic, Russian, Chinese, English and French—the last two of these, as common demoninators of intercourse implanted in so many occupied countries, being the chief Conference languages.

The Russian signs were up next to movie theaters offering a "blazing MGM drama" or adorned with huge Broadway-style cutie cut-outs; and kiosks everywhere displayed the whole line of U.S. periodicals from **Time** to **Wink**, cheek by jowl with Moscow's **New Times** and magazines from Peking. It was exciting to be in a place where anyone could freely take his pick between Eastern and Western culture or propaganda, and nothing was under the counter save possibly the Egyptian CP daily which appears illegally.

(Also sold at kiosks are two English- and two French-language dailies, well written and edited, covering world news better than most U.S. and British papers.)

FERVENT YOUTH: Outside the Semiramis and the University auditorium where the Conference began and ended, thousands of kids and college students greeted the delegates with deafening intensity on the first and last days. The kids—brimming over with excitement which looked like simple patriotic fervor to me—flocked in endless processions waving flags, olive branches, cardboard peace doves and Nasser portraits. On the campus, students roared slogans (themes about evenly divided between Peace and Nasser) and showered flower-petals at the delegates' buses and cars.

At one point on the first morning, students outside tried to storm their way into the great domed auditorium. Inside, fiery streaks of sunshine pierced through the dome on a scene of such uninhibited frenzy as may well be uniquely Arab, performed by teams of students who had arrived on time.

Most stormy welcomes went to the delegation leaders of Algeria, India, Oman, Syria and the U.S.S.R. Reading of a telegram from Mao Tse-tung nearly brought the roof down. On the rostrum, those 35 flags surrounded the Conference insignia—a light and a dark hand clasped—topped by a portrait of Nasser on the backdrop curtain.

A WEEK OF KEYNOTES: After the opening, Conference plenary sessions were held in the old Senate house: a high, long, narrow hall, oak-paneled below, with tiers set behind white arches effectively blocking the view. Delegates listened patiently, and for the most part (despite language headaches) intently, to the week-long marathon of keynote speeches, broken from time to time by a stir at the arrival of belated delegates who had to find a way to Cairo through one or more iron curtains.

A 24-hour translation squad churned out copies of keynote reports for later study. Considering it was their first such gathering, the Egyptians handled the innumerable details impressively, though they are too economically squeezed to indulge in Moscow-scale fanfare. The week's best orator by far was not a delegate but the young Russian interpreter who read (in perfect English) the speech offering Soviet aid "on only one condition—that there are no conditions."

The chair had at that point rotated to Ethiopia, whose delegation leader, Mrs. Lule Tesfaye, secretary of her country's Women's Assn., looked and was treated by her fellow-delegates like royalty. Mrs. Tesfaye, who was earlier reported "alarmed" by the street demonstrations, joined warmly in the repeated applause for the Soviet speech.

A NEW ERA: As in all such gatherings, the work was done in commissions and the most rewarding aspect for delegates was the opportunity to make personal contacts. For independence fighters of many tongues, shades and creeds these contacts with brother-victims of imperialism have ended a long night of isolation. Strong friendships were made; across many oceans, deserts and plains they will not be broken.

The commissions' work bears a new fruit under the sun: an Afro-Asian center which will chart and clear the roads to co-operation. FDR and Winnie certainly started something on that ship in 1941, when they proclaimed that "sovereign rights and self-government would be restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them." The peoples of Nazi-occupied lands were not the only ones listening then; and the Afro-Asians are literal people, with strong memories of how their sovereign rights were taken by force.

What they said in Cairo

THE PLAN OF "LIMITED ATOMIC WAR," clarified by John Foster Dulles in **Foreign Affairs**, is in a word to explode A- and H-bombs first upon the colored people . . . We the Japanese people, deeply repentant of the guilt of war in the past, neither want to regard any country as a potential enemy nor suffer ourselves to be instrumental to the strategy of any other country.

—**Prof. Kaoru Yasui** (law faculty dean, Hosei University), Japan.

IF WE EXAMINE the different jurisdictions in the world, we find that all except one are determined to resolve the problem of race discrimination. In all societies where it still reigns, there are men of goodwill trying by every means to end it . . . [But] it is incumbent on this organization . . . not to allow nations to remain members of UN unless they respect its Charter.

—**Mohammed Ahmed Magoub**, (Foreign Minister), Sudan.

OUR CONTINENTS, the birthplace and cradle of great religions and human civilization, through thousands of years [maintained] peaceful and friendly cultural exchange. Our scholars in philosophy, literature, art, astronomy, medicine, physics, chemistry, jurisprudence and history had a profound influence on the culture of . . . Europe . . . Due to the recent encroachment of colonialism, the culture of the Asian and African peoples was devastated, but today we can make a new contribution to human civilization . . . [Here] we definitely think of the culture of the world as a whole. We certainly do not reject cultural ties with the Western nations. We should further strengthen them, but they must be built on equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect.

—**Chu Tu-nan**, China.

WE REJECT THE PROPOSITION that anyone has the right to crush any ideology by force. They must compete with each other in the free realm of ideas, each one striving to win the hearts and allegiance of the people by example and persuasion. You can shoot people but not ideas, as they have the irritating habit of migrating surreptitiously across boundaries.

—**Anup Singh** (MP), India.

BENCH RULING

Lamont loses round in passport fight

JUDGE RICHMOND KEECH ruled in the U.S. District Court in Washington on Jan. 13 that the fight of Corliss Lamont, author and civil liberties leader, to win a passport from the State Dept. has no legal standing. The Judge's decision came as a bench ruling in quick response to the government's motion to dismiss the Lamont suit.

Leonard B. Boudin, Lamont's counsel, noted that the State Dept. had granted passports to several Quakers last summer who had refused to sign non-communist affidavits on grounds of conscience. Boudin argued that Lamont's refusal to sign the affidavit rested on the same ground. Judge Keech maintained, however, that the refusal had to be based on religion to be valid.

UNDER REVIEW: The court action was initiated by Lamont last June. He was first denied a passport in 1951 on the ground that his travel abroad would be "contrary to the best interests of the United States." He announced that Judge Keech's decision will be appealed. In three other cases currently before the Supreme Court the whole matter of the State Dept.'s authority to revoke or withhold passports on political grounds is being reviewed.

FOR PEACE AND EQUALITY

The movement inside Israel for Arab-Jewish friendship

By Ursula Wassermann

TEL AVIV, ISRAEL

IN JULY, 1957, a new monthly made its appearance here under the name of **New Outlook.** The periodical, which boasts an impressive list of sponsors, directors and advisers, grew out of the Jewish-Arab Assn. for Peace and Equality which was founded in Haifa in September, 1956, at a convention attended by 2,000 persons. They represented all shades of public opinion, with the exception of Herut on the far right and the Communist Party on the left.

The absence of Herut is easily explained, since this aggressive, chauvinist movement, which found its origin in the terrorist organizations preceding the establishment of Israel, has never even pretended it wants peace or equality for the Arabs. It proclaims as its aim the re-establishment of "Palestine's historical borders," which would include all of Jordan —and then some. The CP absence requires more explanation, especially since it has long championed Arab rights and is well regarded by many members of the Arab minority in Israel.

TWO UNITING IDEAS: The independent daily **Haaretz** wrote then that the CP "has not supported this conference because it does not accept the slogan of peace between the Arab states and Israel through direct negotiations, since the Arab states oppose it." **Al Hamishmar,** the organ of Mapam (left socialist) added that two ideas united all participants of the conference: (1) the demand for full equality for all the citizens of Israel; (2) the demand, addressed jointly to the

governments of Israel and the Arab countries, to initiate direct negotiations to ensure peace in the Middle East and the world at large.

While full equality for Arab citizens of Israel certainly coincides with Communist demands, the Party goes further in demanding the right of self-determination for the Arab minority. This could lead to the secession of areas which have an Arab majority. The CP has also opposed direct negotiations between Israel and the Arab states for some time, as was evidenced at the Colombo meeting of the World Peace Council. Aside from the reasons given in **Haaretz,** Soviet policy is opposed to such talks on the grounds that peace in the Middle East can be brought about only through an over-all settlement reached in Great Power negotiations. This point of view today is shared by many far removed from the CP, including Dr. Nahum Goldmann, president of the World Zionist Organization.

AN INTERNAL TASK: The Jewish-Arab Assn., which has no direct contacts in any Arab country, sees its main task as easing the conditions of the Arab minority within Israel. It calls for the abolition of military administration in Arab areas; equal treatment of the Arab citizens; integration of the Arab community within the economic and cultural life of the country. Study groups on economic, social and educational problems have been set up, and members of a variety of parties cooperate both in the association and on **New Outlook.**

This is an example of problems facing the Arab minority: Graduates of secondary schools and the university face grave difficulty in finding employment. The majority come from villages and it is regarded as degrading for them to return. Thus the rural communities are left without people who could speed internal development, while the small urban Arab community fails to provide sufficient employment. One Association leader said, therefore, that Arab education should emphasize vocational and agricultural training.

The return of educated Arabs to rural communities would certainly help the communities, but to confine young Arabs to vocational and agricultural training would still smack of discrimination. It would also fail to integrate the Arab minority in the economic and cultural life of the country as a whole.

A WELCOME FORUM: What appears to be needed rather is the guarantee of employment, on identical terms, to Jews and Arabs. This was urged by Ihud, the Assn. for Jewish-Arab Rapprochement, founded many years ago by Judah Magnes, which retains its identity, even though some of its members also cooperate with the Jewish-Arab Assn. Ihud asked all its Jewish members to try to find jobs for young, fully-trained Arab citizens. Many of them despair of finding work, and often cross illegally into neighboring Arab states.

Any effort toward greater Arab-Jewish understanding must, of course, be welcomed and **New Outlook** is a welcome medium in offering such a forum. Its circulation is 3,500 and it aims at 10,000, with a view to influencing policy-making opinion. It states that it is entirely independent and not subsidized by any government agency or political party.

What worries some observers here, however, is that the periodical appears in English only, and is thus open to the reproach of being "for export only." Jewish-Arab rapprochement must, in the long run, be based on public opinion in Israel and the Arab countries alike—even though, in the last analysis, the easing of the cold war is the vital prerequisite for that climate.

PIGEON OR DOVE, THE SENTIMENT IS SOUND

The 12-year-old daughter of the mayor of a Gaza strip town presents touring UN Secy. Gen. Dag Hammarskjold with a caged "dove of peace" (it really was a pigeon). The UN's man found tensions easing a bit in the area.

CALORIES, CRITICISM AND CULTURE

Czechoslovakia: They're making news out of no news

By George Wheeler
Special to the Guardian

PRAGUE

"THERE IS NO NEWS in Czechoslovakia." This is the standard complaint of Western reporters in Prague—and it is true in the sense that there is little that is unexpected or sensational. The woods are full of statistics, however, and it is a temptation for an economist with an eye for a trim figure. But even the figures are usually known about a year in advance, particularly when the planned economy is working as it should.

For example, it was planned before the year started that coal output would go up about 7% in 1957 to 75 million tons. Then it was announced that on Dec. 27 the target had been reached. Sensational? Even if you point out that coal production per capita is now the highest in the world, most people will only yawn. But the steady climb of coal output is one of the most important facts in the lives of the people here. Coal means both power and raw material for the chemical industries and if it is in short supply it limits the rise of production generally and the standard of living. So a shorthand way of saying that the economic situation is better is to point to the rise in coal production.

CALORIES AND TV: Actually this understates the gains. In 1957 retail sales, at stable prices, increased by 11%. The average daily consumption of food per capita is over 3,100 calories, on a par with that in the U.S. and above that in W. Germany or France. But there are still shortages of some foods and others are too high priced.

Television here is less than five years old; the screens are still smaller and the sets are technically not as good as those produced in the States. But they are getting better. The programs are free from commercials and horror crime plays, but still are technically immature and do not take full advantage of the great educational possibilities. But the television people are aware of this. They have much material to work with, such as the Czech and Slovak music. The Prague Philharmonic is as good as any orchestra in the world—and has no financial worries. Steady salaries and fine schools encourage talented young pupils to make a career of music. Czechs treasure their musical tradition, but they also appreciate good American jazz. There would be lots of room for exchanges of musicians. If they could choose, the Czechs would start with Paul Robeson and Marian Anderson, but many others would be welcome.

CHANGING ATTITUDES: Progress in the cultural field is steady. There has been a general easing of tension and an increasing freedom of choice and development of these all the way from painting to films. Painters who have been little thought of in recent years now have exhibitions of their work—and some of it is excellent. Film directors produce movies of fundamental problems of social character and do so in a critical manner. For example, **School for Fathers** hit hard at the hypocrisy of some teachers and parents. It offered no pat solution or happy ending—it was just eloquent and honest criticism. It was well received by the people and praised in the Communist Party press. Only one minor school official regarded it as "anti-Communist" because the Party secretary was not the hero.

This changing attitude toward criticism is more secure because it has not been sensational. It is fundamental for the development of a socialist society. It is evident in daily life, in what the Chinese call the "style of work." I know this best from my work as an economist at the Academy of Sciences. There the emphasis has increasingly turned from an abstract, often dogmatic, approach to theoretical problems to the use of theory to deal with practical problems. Some problems, such as the theory and practice of wages, are now getting priority; only a few years ago it was thought that Marx had settled everything.

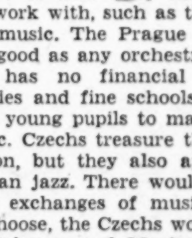
SPUTNIK AND DULLES: This is not to say that Czechoslovakia is an Eden in which people like criticism and always give it in a constructive manner. Some still feel that any criticism is an attack on socialism. But the decline of this authoritarian manner was, in my opinion, one of the major gains of 1957. It will speed progress in all fields.

The sputniks have made as great an impact here as in the U.S., although of quite a different kind. There is a new confidence and pride in socialism.

Czechs wish that Dulles, and those he represents, would recognize the absolute necessity for peace and stop trying to turn every advance by colonial peoples toward independence into a sinister Soviet plot. It is true that the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries are giving great economic assistance to these countries—and that the people are grateful. The export of whole factories, such as rubber tire plants to Indonesia or cement mills to Egypt, has now become a large part of Czechoslovak foreign trade.

The belief grows that Dulles is twisted by anxiety and that his "brinkmanship" involves a continuous danger that some lunatic may touch off the hydrogen explosion that could destroy civilization. The Czechs wish that the American people would pay more attention to these problems and less to the horsepower of their automobiles.

"Peace" was the universal toast here on New Year's.



The holy war

(Continued from Page 1)

people would respond in a manner to convince mankind "that the future belongs, not to the concept of the regimented atheistic state, but to . . . the God-fearing, peace-loving people of the world."

The President's speech placed reliance squarely on "massive retaliation" from U.S. bases abroad and on greater ability to wage "limited war" to maintain peace. This followed the Rockefeller-Gaither recommendations, as did his call for increasing the military budget and for obtaining greater cooperation from U.S. allies on arms production and for supplying them with American nuclear weapons.

By these measures the Rockefeller-Gaither group apparently hoped to stave off an economic decline in the U.S.; assure fat profits at the expense of the American taxpayer and super-profits from foreign investments; tie U.S. allies militarily closer to Washington's policies, give them a vested interest in and make their economic stability dependent on the arms race. They ignored the possibility that wide distribution of American nuclear weapons might plunge the world into a fiery furnace through the reckless action of some desperate U.S. ally.

AXE GRINDERS: The Rockefeller-Gaither groups were, in fact, two sides of the same coin. Victor Perlo noted in the York (Pa.) **Gazette and Daily** (1/2): "The businessmen dominating the Gaither committee are all officials of military research and development corporations, whose profits depend on spending for the most advanced 'space age' weapons . . . And, with one exception, they are representatives of the Rockefeller and Boston financial groups . . . Both are heavily involved in foreign investments, and hence in a policy designed to protect same and thrust forward to new profitable opportunities overseas . . . The exception is chairman H. Rowan Gaither [who held] the concurrent post as chairman of the Rand Corporation of Santa Monica, Calif., [which is] engaged in all aspects of secret military-scientific and cold war research."

According to the N.Y. **Times** (12/12, 14/57) and **Business Week** (11/23/57), Vice President Nixon was "strong for the committee idea" which "resembled positions already worked out by Dulles and the Pentagon." The President already had been sold the idea for increased arms spending by the Rockefellers' Chase Manhattan Bank chairman John J. McCloy and Tom Dewey, whose law firm is general counsel for Reaction Motors.

The Gaither report itself, according to the Washington **Post** (12/20/57), concluded that its recommended increase in military expenditure "would come at a fortuitous moment in the American economy . . . with benefit to the economy and to national defense." The **Post** said the report "started on the premise of a recession."

WARS, LTD.: The brains behind the Rockefeller report was Henry A. Kissinger of Harvard University's International Studies Center and author of **Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy.** In his book Kissinger urged the policy of limited nuclear war which, as Matthew Josephson noted in **The Nation**, "would demand more, not less, expenditure of money for new types of arms—ultimately about $65 billion a year. Besides, the

Herblock in Washington Post
"How did I get in this box?"

thing might go on forever, as Kissinger admits, since the winnings would be small, or perhaps nothing. This is a point of great significance to our expansion-minded military bureaucrats and to the technical-war industries which contribute so much to our prosperity."

The danger of scattering nuclear weapons among such U.S. allies as Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee is self-evident. It is no less great when U.S. fliers are equipped with these weapons, since they have apparently continued provocative flights over socialist countries.

WE WANT SPACE: The Albanians on Dec. 23 last forced down and later released a U.S. jet fighter plane piloted by Maj. Howard J. Curran. **Missiles and Rockets**, the world astronautics magazine, said (Jan., '58) that U.S. planes have been flying mapping missions over the Soviet Union to demonstrate America's "overwhelming retaliatory ability." Some have been hit by Russian fighter planes, underscoring their potentialities of triggering World War III.

Indicating that the Democrats are even greater fire-eaters than the Republicans, Sen. Johnson went beyond the Rockefeller-Gaither recommendations to demand nothing less than total U.S. control of space. His spectacular if irresponsible speech made the President's message two days later sound flabby and dull.

Johnson said: "Control of space means control of the world . . . There is something more important than any ultimate weapon, [like] long-range ballistic missiles . . . This is the ultimate position. Whoever gains that position gains total control over the earth . . ."

OPEN DOOR: In this sabre-rattling atmosphere Soviet Premier Bulganin calmly announced to all NATO and Warsaw Pact members, to all UN delegates and Switzerland that the door to negotiations was wide open. He proposed to call within three months a top-level conference of NATO and Warsaw Pact members, together with India, Afghanistan, Egypt, Yugoslavia, Sweden and Austria. Bulganin proposed this agenda:

- Halting nuclear weapons tests for at least two or three years.
- Creating "in Central Europe an atom-free zone" comprising Poland, Czechoslovakia, East and West Germany.
- A non-aggression pact between NATO and Warsaw Pact members, or "similar individual agreements between the countries."
- Establishment of control posts for the prevention of a surprise attack.
- Expansion of East-West trade relations.
- Relaxation of Middle East tensions by guaranteeing the independence of Mideast states and by renouncing the use of force to settle Mideast issues.
- Inviting China to participate in discussions affecting it.

WASHINGTON ANSWERS: The Soviet Premier expressed willingness to reduce if necessary the number of participants and items on the agenda. In a special letter to Mr. Eisenhower, he hoped the President would give the proposals his "personal and serious consideration." But Bulganin explained, with obvious reference to Secy. Dulles, that "certain possible participants" would make a conference at the foreign ministers' level—as suggested at the recent NATO meeting—fruitless.

The responses of the President and Dulles were stale. Mr. Eisenhower again asked for evidence of Soviet "sincerity" by demanding that Moscow renounce the use of the veto in the UN (in reality the rule of major-power unanimity in the UN Security Council) and pledge to use outer space only for peaceful purposes. Both asked for Soviet acceptance of German reunification now and the U.S. disarmament package proposal, and rejected a summit conference in preference for a foreign ministers' meeting.

VOICES OF SANITY: Saner voices desperately tried to be heard. Walter Lippmann noted that the total fulfillment of the reports' recommendations would still make the U.S. at best "only one great power competing with an equally great power . . . The days of our military supremacy were brief and they have ended."

Harold Stassen, who is in the Administration's dog-house, made a last ditch, apparently fruitless, attempt to persuade the President to adopt a modified approach to Soviet proposals. At the American Nobel Anniversary Committee's dinner last week, Canada's Lester Pearson, Britain's Bertrand Russell in a message and other Nobel laureates urged negotiations to seek ways for "peaceful coexistence."

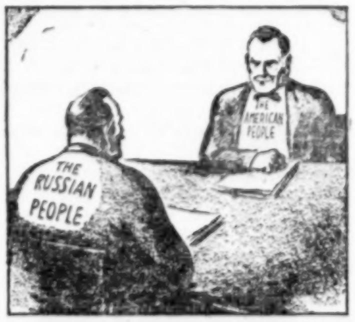
The London **Times** said: "To an attentively listening world, it must sound something of an anti-climax for the American President to produce—almost, as it were, as his counter-proposal to the summit idea—joining hands with the Soviet to eliminate malaria." (Moscow last year offered the UN's World Health Organization expert Soviet technicians for worldwide fight against malaria.) The **Manchester Guardian** called the President's rejection of top-level talks "a chance missed."

Labour's left-wing leader Aneurin Bevan joined right-winger Hugh Gaitskell in urging acceptance of Bulganin's invitation. The **New Statesman** was especially irritated by the U.S. constantly inveighing against "materialist atheism" and invoking God on its side, "thus becoming the first country to conduct its foreign policy on a religious basis since Spain under Philip II. And by posing the problem in terms of absolute good and evil realism is automatically banished." The weekly paraphrased Bevan: "Good and evil are social standards . . . You cannot be good if you are dead."

Relax, world

N.Y. **Times** correspondent William J. Jorden reported (1/11, 1/12) that "competent observers" in Moscow interpreted the Bulganin proposals as meant primarily to ease tensions: "Moscow's basic thesis was that it was impossible [now] to settle fundamental issues that divide [the East and the West] . . . The principal factor that was lacking was real confidence in each other. To overcome that absence of trust, Moscow proposed that a high-level conference set out to settle matters that the Kremlin regarded as relatively simple and on which there could be little disagreement.

"Once matters of this kind were agreed on, [Moscow believes], confidence would grow. Then, in an atmosphere of increased trust, East and West could tackle the really tough problems that face them—disarmament, German unification, elimination of all nuclear weapons, and the like."



Little in the Nashville Tennessean
"Maybe we need low-level talks."

ACPFB VICTORY

High Court reverses Heikkinen deportation

THE COMMITTEE for Protection of Foreign Born—which the U.S. Attorney-General seeks to put out of business—won another Supreme Court decision Jan. 6 against the Walter-McCarran immigration law.

The Court reversed the conviction of Knut Einar Heikkinen, 68-year-old newspaperman of Superior, Wis., who had been sentenced to ten years in prison in 1954. He was charged with failing to apply for travel documents under an order of deportation issued two years earlier.

Finnish-born, Heikkinen came to Canada in 1911 and became a Canadian citizen. He came to the U.S. in 1916. When ordered deported he applied for Canadian entry but learned that his Canadian citizenship had been cancelled. He then applied for admission to Finland, but was indicted before he cou'd hear from the Finnish government. He was represented before the Supreme Court by attorneys Joseph Forer of Washington and M. Michael Essin of Milwaukee.

The Heikkinen defense, along with those of Leon Callow of Niles, O., and Charles Rowoldt of Minneapolis, deportation cases both recently won, have been among the activities of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born cited by the Attorney-General before the Subversive Activities Control Board, in efforts, so far unsuccessful, to have the ACPFB ordered to register as a subversive organization. Immigration authorities said they will continue efforts to deport Heikkinen.

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BOOKS

McGrath's poetic novel of prophecy

IN THE PUBLIC SQUARE tin trees wear bright tin leaves. Mechanical squirrels with nylon tails gather plastic acorns until in the evening the caretakers turn them off and close up the flowers. In living rooms automatic psychoanalysts (psychomats) serenely dissect the citizen before he goes to bed. Over all the Investigator rules, finding guilt everywhere.

Still, on park benches and in the vast "Unoccupied Country" beyond the city there survive strange preachers and other men with a perverted taste for non-mechanical birds, an addiction to work and a passion for humanity.

This is the world of Thomas McGrath's novel **The Gates of Ivory, The Gates of Horn***. It is a world uncomfortably like our own, only more so.

Some will call this work "science fiction" and compare it with Ray Bradbury's not-so-fantastic fantasies. But such a comparison would be unfair to both McGrath and Bradbury. Science-fiction skirts the edge of the scientifically possible. There is no science in McGrath's book and it is fiction only in the formal sense. For this is less a novel than a social essay in poetic prose.

CHARLES HUMBOLDT, in his introduction, rightly calls it a prophecy. It is not a prediction, but it is prophetic in the Biblical sense—an impassioned sermon and a warning. Sometimes McGrath seems overly preoccupied with the bright gadgetry of his nightmare. It would be a pity if it overshadowed the moving passages of poetry that have the force of the Hebrew prophets warning of doom and pointing to salvation.

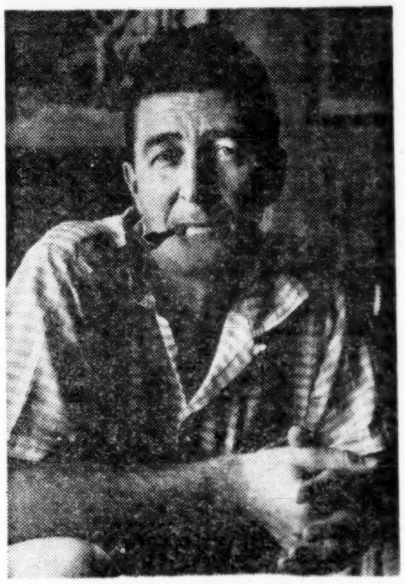
The doom McGrath warns of is the death of the human spirit in a society where "the function replaces the personality." Of course, he makes it plain that a monstrous society forces this relationship upon people. Yet, at times he seems to be writing an archaic tract against the evils of the industrial revolution, singling out the machine as the villain, longing nostalgically for a simpler pastoral period of history.

One of his characters says: "We live in a machine society. We've carried its use nearly to the ultimate. We've used it to conquer space and even to some degree, time, and we've built up an economy where everything is done for us, even most of our thinking and some of our feeling, by machines or machine-like men. But basically man doesn't want to be a machine. He wants to be a **man**, whatever that is. So when a machine fouls up it always makes us happy, we exult in secret, because it leaves a momentary loophole for our humanity."

THE TROUBLE in such a society—and the reason it must be ruled by investigators who operate on the notion of ineradicable guilt—is stated simply: "The problem of sedition, of conspiracy . . . has its origin in consciousness. . . . Consciousness is a product of the friction between ourselves and the world." The function of education has a chilling similarity to our current notions of how to adjust a man to his environment:

". . . . every institution in society either punishes him when he acts out his resentment or attempts to drain off that resentment before it can lead to action. Isn't that what education is for, and psychomats and alcohol and drugs—even the labor that's allotted to the work addicts? To draw out or ground or soak up our resentments?"

McGrath sings also of his hope in men: "Yes, I know there are grumblers among you, men of no faith. Unwilling to admit their guilt, they sleep under the tin trees, but sleep lightly, rising early and leaving the city by little-used streets,



TOM McGRATH
A matter of the human spirit

following the birds to the north or the south in the swing of the seasons, each with a book hidden away somewhere in a hollow tree or behind the embankments of a bridge at a dry river, hiding in their heads a forbidden song or the scrap of an old story."

SALVATION IS TO COME in a saintly way after the death of the will and rebirth into "a solidarity toward all the living and unliving world and into an indifference that is first of all an indifference to the self."

An old man mounted on a park bench speaks McGrath's final vision: "Brothers, the day is come, the time of the Destroyer, the time of that dark and hunted man who lives in all of us, the time when everything shall be made level, all roads straight and man shall say again the great Aleph of solidarity—."

The ingenious fable ends when the Investigator performs the ultimate absurdity of trapping himself. And the redeemers are clearly on the way. They come from the vast "Unoccupied Country," perhaps the desert regions where man's spirit wanders these days. McGrath's book is a ringing call from that rugged hinterland.

McGrath, this reviewer believes, is a major poet and nowhere shows himself more of a poet than in this book of prose. In it he has depicted the present with wit and the future with a resounding confidence in the indestructibility of people—much of it in a language close to music.

—**Elmer Bendiner**

**THE GATES OF IVORY, THE GATES OF HORN, by Thomas McGrath, Mainstream Publishers, 832 Broadway, N.Y. 3. 128 pp. Cloth-bound, $2.25; paper, $1.*

ALL ARE WELCOME

Young socialists meet in Chicago Feb. 1-2

FOR the first time in several years young socialists with a variety of points of view will gather from many parts of the country to discuss their mutual problems. A weekend of discussion on "Perspectives for Socialist Youth" is being planned for a Midwest conference to be held in Chicago Feb. 1 and 2. The conference is sponsored by the Socialist Youth Committee in Chicago.

Participation is expected from Denver U., U. of Minnesota, U. of Wisconsin, U. of Chicago, Roosevelt U., Wayne U., Antioch College and from New York, Philadelphia and Toronto.

In addition to discussion, an evening of folk music and entertainment is planned for the night of Feb. 1. For further information contact J. Maxim, 1457 E. 54th Place, Chicago, Ill. In New York, call WA 9-5360.

KURT TUCHOLSKY'S WORLD

The razor-sharp pen of a German realist

THE DEAD are not dead when a living voice takes up the cry of a voice that has been stilled and brings to the English-speaking world a treasure of modern German literary culture* in the finest tradition.

Kurt Tucholsky was a German publicist, satirist, poet and political prophet, whose writings after World War I stirred the hearts and minds of liberals, pacifists, socialists and the intellectual youth of Central Europe for two decades.

Tucholsky was a German of Jewish descent. He wrote in German, mostly in the idiomatic tongue of his Berlin. But his fatherland was the world. His pen, while directed mainly against German nationalism and prejudice, the fake morality of the ruling classes, the foibles of his countrymen and their institutions, reached far beyond Germany's borders. His writings were eagerly awaited by thousands who feared the rising tide of fascism.

Tucholsky's voice was silenced when the Nazis came to power in 1933. The writer lost his world although the satirist kept smiling because, as Tucholsky put it, "One can smile at anything." But two years later even the smile vanished; in 1935, in exile, Tucholsky chose death by his own hand.

SENSITIVE ANALYSIS: The editor and translator of **The World is a Comedy** is Dr. Harry Zohn, assistant professor of German at Brandeis University, an accomplished interpreter of modern German writers, especially Stefan Zweig.

Dr. Zohn has selected a representative group of Tucholsky's essays and sketches and has prefaced his selections with a long essay of his own on the author's significance. It is a most sensitive and intelligent evaluation of Tucholsky's work and personality; it gives the American reader a real feeling of the time and atmosphere in which this unusual man fought and created.

"MAKE A VOW": One example shows how little Tucholsky's words have lost their validity even after a quarter of a century:

"People have said that I don't know how a German can die; I know it well enough. But I also know how a German woman can weep—and I know how she weeps today, now that she slowly, excruciatingly slowly, realizes what her man has died for. What he has died for . . .

"Am I rubbing salt on wounds? I should like to burn the celestial fire into wounds. I should like to cry out to the mourners: He died for nothing, for a madness, for nothing, nothing, nothing! . . .

"I silently say to myself: Promise it to yourself. Make a vow. Be active. Work. Tell the people. Liberate them from national madness, you, with your small power. You owe it to the dead . . . No more wars!"

Good translation is rare and an art in itself. Dr. Zohn has transposed idiomatic German into idiomatic American-English

Humanite, Paris

that preserves the author's spirit and interprets the language of the people with all its universal laughter and tears, its irony and vigor. This book binds the thinking people of the world with closer ties which are sorely needed today.

—**Pax**

**THE WORLD IS A COMEDY: A Tucholsky Anthology, translated and edited by Harry Zohn, Sci-Art Publishers, Harvard Sq., Cambridge, Mass., 1957, 240 pp., $3.75.*

AN ALL-AMERICAN COMES HOME TO A HALF-AMERICAN TOWN

Jim Pace, U. of Michigan's All-American halfback, got a hero's welcome on his return home to Little Rock, Ark., on Jan. 2. A crowd of 1,500 met him at the airport and escorted him through town in a car caravan. Later at a banquet in his honor at Horace Mann High School admirers presented him with two plaques and a wristwatch. But in another part of town federalized National Guardsmen still patrolled Central High School so Negro students could go to an integrated school. It seemed that Little Rock Negroes could be All-Americans elsewhere; only half-Americans at home.

the SPECTATOR

Plenty o' Nothin'

THE RECENT ANNOUNCEMENT that film star Sidney Poitier had overcome his earlier misgivings and, under the promptings of producer Sam Goldwyn, agreed to play the lead role in the screen version of **Porgy and Bess**, highlights the dilemma of the Negro performer. Poitier, according to an earlier release, would not sign for the **Porgy** part because he feared the film would not portray Negroes with dignity.

Usually the Negro performer must take whatever Hollywood or Broadway have to offer, or else. More often than not, if he depended solely on employment in film or on stage, he'd starve. A recent survey showed that while there were 143 jobs open to Negro actors on Broadway in 1956, the number had dropped to 75 last year; there were four integrated plays in 1956, two in 1957.

The N.Y. **Times** recorded the successes of the Everyman Opera Co. when it performed **Porgy** for European audiences in 1956: "The troupe, widely hailed everywhere and regarded as one of the most powerful weapons in this country's artistic offensive abroad, made an especially effective impression in the cities behind the Iron Curtain. Members of the artistic circles and laymen were amazed not only by the performances but also by the fact that Negroes in this country had such opportunity."

SIDNEY POITIER

What the **Times** failed to point out is that in between the crap-shooting and hell-raising of **Porgy** and the naive, heaven-loving fantasy of **The Green Pastures**—both of them provided with some of the finest music and performed by some of the best talent of the American theater—the Negro performer has had paltry little opportunity.

AND THERE'S SO MUCH IN BEtween. Indeed, all the range and reality of American life as lived by Negroes and by whites, separately and together. Roy Wilkins, NAACP exec. secy., last October urged upon executives of the Assn. of Motion Picture Producers "the casting of Negro performers in a range of roles representative of the position of the Negro in American life today." You seldom even see Negro faces in crowd scenes in the movies, he pointed out. NAACP does not advocate a ban against the use of Negroes in comic or servant roles, he said, but does object to restricting them "solely to such roles and to the perpetuation of the stereotype of the Negro as an illiterate, frightened buffoon."

Of course, there has been some progress. Poitier himself helped establish a cultural landmark when he played the longshoreman in **Edge of the City**. The importance of this movie was that the dramatic conflict in the play rose out of a development which one could easily imagine happening to any average Negro worker in New York. The Negro characters did not have to be (1) a dark-skinned dolt or (2) a near-white maiden out-soliloquizing Hamlet with a "to pass or not to pass" routine in order to be of interest to the movie-goers.

Another of the "passing" cycle is announced for spring production. Frank Sinatra and Tony Curtis will fall in love with a white-looking colored girl (Natalie Wood) in France and **Kings Go Forth** will take up where the last such film left off.

MORE ENCOURAGING NEWS comes with the announcement that Hollywood will film **The Montgomery Story** next spring, with Harry Belafonte playing the role of Rev. Martin Luther King. Jeffrey Hayden will direct and John O. Killens, author of **Youngblood**, is writing the story.

In New York, Actors Equity issued an appeal to managers and producers of Broadway shows: "If writers, producers, directors and casting agents would consider the Negro artist primarily as an artist, to be given consideration for casting in any roles which his ability permits, it would be a vitalizing force in the theater." But despite all the appeals and a few signs of advancement, things are still mighty tough for the Negro performer.

Anyhow, after talks with Sam Goldwyn and director Rouben Mamoulian, Poitier decided to take the $75,000 and play Porgy. Dorothy Dandridge, who had also had her doubts, accepted the role of Bess. Mamoulian said: "We would never trample on the dignity of the human being. We plan to make an uplifting film about the nobility of life and that's what we told Mr. Poitier and Miss Dandridge."

It's only fair not to prejudge such an event. So we'll just wait until Mamoulian whisks us on to a celluloid "Catfish Row" and see if we get a lift.

—Louis E. Burnham

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Man being faced with complete destruction has no alternative but to unite. It must be a unity of the Producer, of the Intellect and of the Youth. Man must reaffirm his faith in man, in the dignity of man and in the future of man. Man must unite, as a whole, under one banner with a slogan that in its self is all inclusive. A slogan that will proclaim the equality of man, in which all inequities will disappear, which proclaims the political, social, economic and cultural rights of man, which in its self is the rebirth of man and forever banish hunger, fear, war. That slogan is as follows: **THE RIGHTS OF MAN ENDS WHEN MAN INTERFERES WITH THE RIGHTS OF MAN.**

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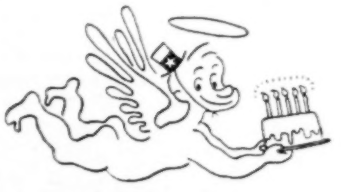

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Friday, Jan. 24, 8:15 p.m.
REVIEW OF THE WEEK
A Marxist Analysis of Current Events
"The Economic Forecasts for 1958—Will There Be a Bust?"
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Main Epochs in U.S. History—Aptheker
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The New World of Socialism —DuBois, Allen and others

• • • • • • • •

Tuesdays
(Jan. 21 thru Feb. 25)
6:30—Struggle for Negro Freedom —Aptheker
8:30—New Problems in Marxism —Aptheker

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Wednesdays
(Jan. 22 thru Feb. 26)
6:30—Economics of Capitalism—Weise
8:30—Boom and Bust in U.S.—Weise

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Thursdays
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6:30—Dialectical Materialism —Wells
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- Dogmatism—left and right

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Sunday, Jan. 26, 8:15 p.m.
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THE GALLERY

AS SOON AS ANY ELEVATOR in Kansas City's Ambassador Hotel passes the eighth floor, a light flashes and chimes ring on the ninth floor. If you go up the stairway, pressure pads under the carpeting trigger off bells and more lights flash, alerting a guard-room, manned day and night and stacked with shotguns, revolvers, cameras, telescopes. The ninth floor is the $100-a-day residence of a student. He is Lt. Gen. Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Jr., 28-year-old son of the dictator of the Dominican Republic, currently studying at the Command and General Staff College at Ft. Leavenworth. Some 30 detectives in a fleet of patrol cars guard Trujillo, his wife and five of their six children. They watch for ambushes on Trujillo's route to school, as the general whizzes by in a green Cadillac and photograph everyone seen near the General's route more than once.

IN WASHINGTON, D.C., THE OWNERS of an eating place called the Espionage Restaurant were knocked spy-high when a Municipal Court decision branded the place "unnecessarily unclean and unwholesome." They promised to clean up the kitchen in two weeks and re-open with a modest under-cover charge. . . . Among the 200 books sent to the White House on Jan. 2 as a gift by the American Booksellers Assn. was **Ten North Frederick** by John O'Hara. In Albany, N.Y., last month a bookseller was indicted for selling, among other allegedly obscene works, the paper-back edition of **Ten North Frederick.** The White House copy is the hard-cover edition.

THE GUARDIAN'S URSULA WASSERMANN writes from Tel Aviv that Ellabelle Davis of the U.S. has been singing spirituals there and charming audiences "from sophisticated Tel Avivians to kibbutz-nicks." She has added to her repertoire the season's top hits, called "schlagerim" by Israelis . . . Tel Aviv screens are also showing the Sartre film version of Arthur Miller's **Crucible**, re-titled **Witches of Salem.** Miss Wassermann comments that it "is making a deep impression on a public beset by religious intolerance of a different kind." . . . Charlie Chaplin's **King in New York** is also being shown, but heavily cut by the censors to avoid offending the U.S.

WILLIAM MANDEL IS BROADCASTING summaries of the Soviet press Monday evenings at 7:15 over FM radio station KPFA in Berkeley, Calif. (94 on the dial.) . . . Corliss Lamont's **The Philosophy of Humanism** will go into its fourth edition on Jan. 14 when Philosophical Library will bring it out in a paper-back, selling for $1.45 . . . Random House announces a new book called **The Capitalist Manifesto** by Louis A. Kelso and Mortimer J. Adler. It will call for a "capitalist revolution" and a "capitalistic distribution of wealth." This is where we came in.

WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECY. JAMES HAGERTY became involved in a hassle at the recent NATO conference which the London Evening **Standard** says "badly dented" his reputation in England. Hagerty appeared to be "humorless" to the British because of his angry reaction to a satirical piece about White House press conferences by an American reporter. When queried by British journalists about it, Hagerty said: "How would you British like it if this kind of stuff were written about your Queen?" Correspondents now call themselves, "Ministers to the Court of Queen James." . . . The current popularity of gruesome stories, known as "sick" jokes in the U.S., is explained thus by British psychologist Dr. Brian Welbeck: Americans are trying to deny the reality that "war is no longer a thing that takes place a great way off but on their own door-step and to their own children." Hopefully, he believes the craze will die out when Americans learn to face the reality of sputnik.

SOUTH AFRICA'S TREASON TRIAL is the name of a new pamphlet published in Johannesburg which, in dramatic text and photos, tells the story of the 14-month ordeal endured by 156 men and women for fighting **apartheid.** To meet its legal defense costs and relieve the defendants and their families, the booklet asks help. Money can be sent to The Treason Trial Defense Fund, Box 2864, Johannesburg, South Africa. Trustees of the Fund include the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves and author Alan Paton.

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THE MAIL BAG

The mail on independent political action continues heavy. The following letters concern themselves primarily with the Detroit elections of last November, but their import is clear for all progressives.

The progressive's path

VAN NUYS, CALIF.

1958, another national election year, is upon us. The chances of progressives getting together in November '58 are somewhat dimmed by the fact that we have not yet agreed on the elections of Nov. '57. ("Letter From Detroit," GUARDIAN, Dec. 23).

The Detroit correspondent makes a seemingly logical case for "playing politics," and points with pride to a coalition which elected a Negro councilman, and a reactionary mayor.

For progressives of the Sputnik era, there is the same justification for playing politics as for taking up safe-cracking; perhaps a shade less. The progressive will find it difficult to put his heart into either endeavor, he will find that his talents lie elsewhere, and he will discover that both occupations make him suspect to his fellow man and stranger to the light of day.

We are living in a country today which has no moral leadership. We are living in a world which requires moral leadership for survival. Is the path of the progressive so difficult to find?

R. P.

A few questions

GRAND RAPIDS, MICH.

This writer is himself a charter member of UAW. He carried the old "Here's Mine—Where's Yours?" card in the mid-thirties. He has participated in all the great struggles of the movement, often in leading elective positions, and as late as 1953.

What does the irate UAW man from Detroit feel about the UAW-established Public Review Board, with standards set down by the UAW lumping crooks, racketeers, communists and fascists in one single category? Does this fearless fighter for progress feel that progressives can longer afford the luxury of such slander against an honorable segment of the working class? Or are we to ignore this basic and dangerous denial of union democracy (under guise of ethical practices, too) as being insignificant? Since when is the UAW above outside criticism? Barring official and quasi-official bodies of inquisitors whose objective is to weaken if not destroy organized labor, is it not time to welcome the aid of progressives such as we find in the GUARDIAN in unmasking the hypocrisy of redbaiting, in taking an independent position on political issues?

Who would not wish for help in bringing to book, in the interests of the entire membership of the UAW, a leadership that beats the drums incessantly for a bankrupt Democratic Party policy, the major plank of which is the promise to wage more relentless war against the socialist world than do the Republicans?

It is long past the time when progressives should enter the lists for the counter-assault on reaction. Recent decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court should pave the way. Let us unite independently as progressives, speak for socialism once more as though we seek it, and rally the workers for peace. Then we will perform our obligation as progressives in these times, and not before. This writer is weary of those who argue that we are too weak; when shall we be stronger? He can only answer for himself, of course; and this year he proposes to work for some progress among our self-styled progressives.

The O'Murghada

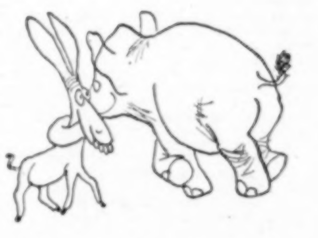
A prediction

DETROIT, MICH.

Three points in reply to the views on the recent Detroit election expressed by Name Withheld:

● I criticized the labor and progresive forces for supporting the right-wing Republican Louis C. Miriani for mayor, rather than running a candidate of their own. NW replies not by defending Miriani's record or program but by arguing that the alternative to endorsing Miriani would have been the defeat of the Negro community's candidate for Council, William T. Patrick Jr.

The implication is that anybody who opposed Miriani was



hurting Patrick. But the fact is that Miriani never spoke in favor of Patrick a single time throughout the campaign, and his right-wing machine never lifted a finger in behalf of Patrick. (I was the only candidate for mayor to endorse Patrick). Patrick was elected not because the labor movement endorsed Miriani, but because of the combined labor and Negro support for Patrick.

● In my post-election letter to the GUARDIAN, I said Miriani was "supported by GM-Ford - Chrysler - Reuther - Hoffa." NW says he resents this as "slandering" of his union. I spelled out the basic political content of the Miriani coalition he defends. It is shocking and shameful when labor leaders place themselves in the same camp as the monopoly corporations. But NW has no right to call my report of what happened "slandering" unless he can disprove the charge that the corporations backed Miriani, who is and always has been their tool and servant.

● Was it correct for progressives to endorse Miriani? Here is his record since taking office less than two months ago: He let the Detroit Housing Commission reaffirm its segregation policy in public housing, though he can fire its members any time he doesn't like what they do. He appointed to the strategically important Corporation Counsel's office a man whose chief specialty has been defending Detroit's police when they are brought into court for brutality against Negroes. He has approved a healthy cut in taxes for businessmen. He has permitted a further cut in bus services.

Sarah Lovell